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general may be touched upon. The women have pain the first day, headache, and sometimes cramps, which diminish the second and third days. During their first menses they do not wash in the sea, but they do so during the succeeding ones. The attitude towards their monthly illness, in general, is that it is a nuisance. There is also a feeling of shame about it as far as men are concerned. The women would be very much ashamed to have men see their menstruating blood. In the past, when straw aprons were worn, they always inserted extra straw in them, and to-day they wear a black loin-cloth instead of a light-coloured one. There is no other protection. They do not have intercourse while they are menstruating, and regard such a custom as disgusting.

Some time within a month after the first menses the marriage rites are held. Betrothal has already been described.

WEDDING RITES

The husband-to-be has been making presents to his future wife and her clan relatives since he first secured their consent. Now come the final rites and the payment for the bride. Tsuros had her first menses in the beginning of November, and her wedding rites were held on November 23rd. Preparations began on November 14th, when all the women of Lesu went to Panat, the hamlet where Tsuros lives with her parents, to practise their dancing. The next day bananas were buried in the sand on the beach at Panat. From then on, until the day of the rites, the women practise their dances every night at this hamlet. Tsuros, the bride-to-be, is sometimes present participating in the rehearsal, but on other nights she is away crab-hunting on the reef. She does not dance during the rites, and her absence or presence at rehearsals seems to mean nothing to the other women. One night when the women were dancing around a fire and the full moon was shining upon them, they were in a

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585 house. The girl is referred to as *katumbo* (his wife), and the man as *kamalis* (her husband). Their relationship is described as *oning itara*, literally, "eat together," and this eating together seems to symbolize the marriage relationship. Frequently, in the folk-tales, we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down together and eat to express the fact that they are married. The life in common between a man and his wife is symbolized by the meals in common. Later, although both may have extra-marital relations with other people, they will not eat with these others.

CONSUMMATION OF MARRIAGE

585 During this interval after the marriage rites and before
832 the sexual consummation of the marriage, the man will usually make love magic so that his wife will desire him. Sometimes he merely gives her a certain leaf to smoke which is supposed to have magical properties, and over which no spell need be said. The *wulish* leaf is one of these. The man rolls the leaf between the palms of his hands and then puts it in the sun to dry. After it is dry he mixes it with some tobacco and gives it, via a third person (sometimes his mother), to his wife. She smokes it, and after that she desires him.[1] Until they have sexual relations there is "shame" between them. Tomerare told me about his experience in
585 his first sexual relationship with his wife Pakamus. She was
833 perhaps a year or so past puberty when he married her, and so was considered, as far as her age went, ready for sexual intercourse, and they immediately went to live together in the same house. After the marriage rites they ate together, but both were very shy. They were so filled with "shame" that they could scarcely look at each other. He gave her the *wulish* leaf to smoke, and on the third night after their marriage he woke her from sleep and they had

[1] Love magic will be discussed in detail in a following chapter.

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intercourse. "At first," said Tomerare, "she cried, but after that she liked it, and now there is no more shame between us." Now it is said, "*Lulisi e maisi sa*," "the two are truly married." There is no feast or rite to mark the actual consummation of the marriage, for this is a private matter with which society is not concerned.

It has already been mentioned that, should the girl have just reached puberty, six or eight moons, or even more, may elapse before the marriage is consummated. It is unthinkable that a girl should have sexual relations with anyone else during this period. Her husband should be the first. But it is admitted that the "unthinkable" occurs occasionally. In that case the "other man" makes a payment of *tsera* to the wife, which she in turn gives to her husband. But this, as we shall see, is the usual pattern of behaviour for all extra-marital intercourse.[1]

During the consummation of their marriage and immediately following it they may spend the first few nights in the wife's mother's house, if the husband has no house ready. The parents leave the house and go to some other. As soon as the husband has built a new house he and his wife live in it. A new household has been added to the village, and the husband and wife take their places as part of the adult community.

SALIENT ASPECTS OF RITES

Significant aspects of the rites which mark the girl's entrance into adult society may be mentioned here. First, there is the role taken by the moieties in the exchange of food and in the playful fighting between the women. This playful fighting which occurs between the women of opposite moieties at the wedding rites, and also at pregnancy and birth rites (all concerned with some phase

[1] If the woman is a widow, or has passed puberty a year or more, there is no interval between rite and consummation.

§32 erection. He wanted to have intercourse with them, but they refused and said they were just playing. They told him to come closer and take the taro, but he only swayed back and forth in pain. Later the women lay down on a path in the bush and exposed themselves again. Once more the man saw them, had an erection, and wanted them. Again they refused and said they were only playing.

This tale was told to me without embarrassment, very dramatically, and amid shouts of laughter. A group of seven or eight women were present. Although all of them knew the tale, they laughed appreciatively at it and thoroughly enjoyed its re-telling, including the participant. The presence of several young children was taken for granted, and they too laughed, although not quite so heartily or understandingly as their mothers.

§32 It has already been noted how the women use the same device of exposing themselves during their dancing, when they are feeling very gay, and how it is sometimes followed by intercourse.

SEX ACTIVITIES

§33 The actual details of intercourse are naturally the same in or out of marriage, although some of the preliminaries may vary. A husband and wife each have their separate bed, never sleeping in the same one. In the past the woman slept in her straw apron, and to-day she sleeps with her loin-cloth on, as does also the man. When the man desires his wife he goes to her bed, and when he has finished returns to his own bed almost immediately. The woman never takes the initiative in going to her husband's bed, and when asked the question my women friends regarded such a procedure with horror, and asked if the woman should be a man.

The woman lies flat on her back with legs outstretched and as wide apart as possible. The man squats or kneels between her wide-open legs and supports himself by grasping

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her shoulders. The man may lift the woman's body towards him so that their breasts and faces touch in an embrace. At other times their bodies, except for the sexual organs, scarcely touch. There seems to be no caressing either before or afterwards.[1] The woman is conscious of the man's seminal ejection, but appears to have no knowledge of any secretion of her own.

It is usual to have intercourse just once during the night. The exact frequency varies according to couple and desire. No husband and wife appear to have it every night, and the average indulgence seems to be once or twice a week. The woman has none during her menses. If at any time she has no desire she can say "no," and she is not taken unwillingly.

A myth of the origin of copulation is of interest. A man and his wife live together, but know nothing of copulation. The husband thinks that his wife's genitalia is a big sore, and he is afraid of it. He goes to a native doctor named Kutkut and asks him to come and put medicine on his wife's "sore." Kutkut comes, passes a leaf over the fire (the usual way of preparing medicine), and then sends the husband out of the house to the seashore. While he is gone Kutkut copulates with the woman. The husband returns and asks his wife if Kutkut put medicine on the "sore," and she replies "yes."

The next day the husband notices that the "sore" is no better, and so he asks Kutkut to come again. He comes, and there is a repetition of the incident just described.

The day after this the husband notices that the

[1] There appeared, according to informants, but very little variation in the position and other details of the sexual act, but one can never be quite sure of having all the facts on such an esoteric matter, there being only a limited number of informants whom the ethnologist knows intimately enough for a discussion of these matters.

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833 773 "sore" is still no better, and Kutkut comes a third time at the husband's request. The husband angrily asks Kutkut why he does not cure the woman of her "sore," and says he thinks Kutkut is lying. Kutkut, also angry, replies that the woman has no "sore," and asks the husband indignantly why he does not understand what to do with the woman. Then Kutkut places the husband in the exact position for copulation, but still nothing happens, and the husband does not know what it is all about. Kutkut then takes a hot taro from the fire and places it on the buttocks of the man. This makes him start, and involuntarily he acts. The man exclaims, "Ah, good, very good, wonderful, I like it very much." From this time on copulation has been known.

I was told at the end of the tale that if Kutkut had not shown the man there would be no children. When I asked the question as to how the husband and his wife and Kutkut came into existence there was no answer, and it was just regarded as the foolish question of an anthropologist.

BIRTH CONTROL AND ABORTION

842 847 These Lesu people are fully aware of the causal connection between intercourse and birth, although they do not know the exact physiological process by which the embryo is formed. However, they think they have a method of control over birth. There are certain leaves which are supposed to have the power of making a woman sterile, and others which are said to have an abortive value. To produce sterility or abortion several leaves are taken in succession. The leaves are chewed, the juice swallowed, and the pulp spit out.[1] Natives swear by the efficacy of these leaves. But

[1] See Medical Knowledge, pp. 293–297, for a detailed description of leaves and their use, and possible medical value.

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near enough for her to see them, and she may thus become aroused. She then sits down and bends her right leg so that her heel presses against her genitalia. Even young girls of about six years may do this quite casually as they sit on the ground. The women and men talk about it freely, and there is no shame attached to it. It is a customary position for women to take, and they learn it in childhood. They never use their hands for manipulation.

I am not so sure of the degree to which masculine masturbation exists. I never witnessed it, and my information on the subject is of a contradictory nature and not thorough enough to be of any value.

It is known that some people like sexual intercourse more than others, but I heard of no one who indulged to such an extent that they might be considered abnormal. One married woman who was supposed to like it excessively was thought "mad." She was unable to talk, and could only make meaningless sounds, having been that way since infancy, and she was not thought to have much understanding. It was her custom to show how much she liked intercourse by putting the index finger of one hand through a circle formed by the thumb and index finger of the other hand. This method of indicating one's desires was considered to be the manner of a "mad" person. There is only one folk-tale about a woman who died from excessive intercourse. Sexual perversion scarcely exists.

LIFE HISTORIES

The following accounts are those of middle-aged and old women (unless otherwise indicated), and are concerned primarily with their sexual life. Other events of their life followed the traditional cultural pattern.

Nunda was born in the hamlet of Penguli, and had the